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THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY

Such relations and norms governing the relationship between the family members reflect and imply certain ways of behaviour which the child imbibes within the family circle. They also reflect some of the necessary requirements for the harmonious functioning of the various social units. The family in Silwa is one of the fields of teaching, and here more perhaps of learning, some of the standardized social relations and their moral significance.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN ACTION

Here some of the functions of the social structure have been examined. It is doubtless true that structural norms provide the articulating force in the village society, acting as traffic lights for individual behaviour. They define personal and corporate rights and duties with individuals, families and clans; indicate the extent of emotional involvement, which is expected to be very strong with close relatives, and joint family, fading somewhat in intensity as the kin spreads in the clan. They also specify the kind of relationship with the patrilineal and the matrilineal sides. Differentiation in kinship relations carries with it differentiation of behaviour, rights and obligations, and affective attachments.

Moreover, the individual faces each of life's rejoicings or crises not only by himself but with the support and co-operation of all those related to him either by patrilineal ('asaba), matrilineal (lahma) and in-law (nasab) relationship, or any other intimate ties. The extent and frequency of such a support, and the hierarchical unit that undertakes the help, varies according to the situation envisaged, to the number of close relatives, and to the prestige of the person.

In sickness, for instance, it is worth noting how kinsmen and kinswomen flock to visit a sick person, talk to him, attempt to alleviate his pain, pray for his safety, and give advice and medicine.

There is a popular song which indicates the amount of security and pride that a sick man derives from being surrounded by his family and people. The song imagines a conversation between a doctor and a sick person, where the doctor asks who is going to pay for the medicine. The sick person is shocked by such a question and instantly replies that he has so many people who will see to it. The song goes on to show how each member of the family offers the doctor something in turn. But in the end the patient dies, because he is so aggravated and embittered by the doctor's question, which implied that he had no people to attend him in such a matter as paying the doctor's fees and medicine charges. 'To have no people' is one of the greatest insults that could be directed to any person. The song goes:

> A sick person asked the doctor to treat him.
> The doctor agreed, but enquired as to who was responsible for paying the expenses of treatment.
> The sick person replied: 'O doctor, don't think that I am without support.

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593 Moreover, it was significant that when my informant declared that the rivalry was an essential incentive in the process of growing up, she added that it would enable the child to stand up to its rivals on becoming an adult. The use of sibling rivalry could also be related to the brothers' avoidance of each other, especially in formal gatherings, and also to the cultural expectation of brothers' friction and wranglings which are quite frequent amongst adults in the village.[1]

Certain families in the village try to provoke sibling rivalry, if it is not manifested strongly between children, by giving the older sibling a nickname, 'A ram which drinks from the water, left after baking'—meaning that he is good for nothing, while calling the younger sibling a camel—being a useful animal, and thus motivating the former to conform to what is expected from a boy of his age. In one of the families, Hassan, who is four years old, and Taha, who is two years old, are two brothers; one called 'Hassan al-dalihi'—the stupid one, while Taha is labelled 'al-nasih'—the clever. This nicknaming was due, according to their mother, to the fact that Hassan was seldom as alert as other boys of his age, and this nickname was supposed to shake him up. The writer noticed that Hassan was always asked to do things with reference to his younger brother. His mother would say: 'Eat this before Taha takes it', and this was accompanied by a movement towards Taha as if she was going to give him the food. Sometimes she would say: 'Take it, or I will give it to Taha', even if the latter were not present. In another house, the mother asked Fatima, the naughty girl, who was reluctant to comb her hair, to come to her before Sakina, the good girl, did so. Fatima was still disobedient, and so the mother started combing Sakina's hair, and immediately Fatima dashed towards her mother and lowered her head for combing. The normal procedure in giving nicknames is to call the younger child with a self-deprecating word, to appease the older one, which is compatible with the hierarchical structure of the family. Reversing this order, by giving a good name to the younger, is only resorted to for the purpose of fostering the desired amount of sibling rivalry indispensable in the villagers' views for healthy development. To experience rivalry with a sibling or cousin is regarded as making the child grow to be a 'hot' man, in contrast to one who is 'blunt'—who is not easily moved or provoked. It is also noticed that a visitor, on meeting a child of the house, usually asks him the hackneyed question: 'Who is better, you or your brother?' One is justified in considering the emphasis on sibling rivalry as a cultural means of motivating the child to abandon his babyish attitudes and behave according to his age.

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It is worth mentioning that the motivation of rivalry connected with the presence, actual or potential, of another person, is one of the strong incentives for appropriate behaviour, which combines social conformity with a high-pressure ego development.

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[1] M. Fortes remarks that among the Tallensi, open recognition of sibling rivalry prevents it from turning into a disruptive element in the relations of siblings. *The Web of Kinship*, footnote, p. 235.

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branches in their hands, and in front of every house they stand chanting at the top of their voices, while swaying their branches. They call out together, 'Give us the custom, either a pigeon, a fat hen, a cock, or an egg'. At the end of the round the group of boys return home with what they may have collected to partake of a meal well-prepared by the mother of the circumcised boy. This round is actually considered to be the female contributions to the circumcised boy and his family. In this way the boy and his age group not only witness the web of social reciprocity, but they are actively introduced to it.

The purpose of circumcising girls, according to the village midwife, is to prevent any suspicion on the bridegroom's part that the bride is not a virgin. The midwife, with her surgical instruments provided by the Ministry of Health, seats the girl on a chair, or vessel, while three women assist her by holding the girl's legs apart as well as supporting her back, a posture very similar to that assumed at childbirth. Girls are usually circumcised at a later age than the boys, when they are about seven or eight.

After the operation the legs are tied together at the thighs and ankles to prevent violent movement and thus render the operation successful. The ties are usually undone after a week or ten days, during which time the girl is fed in a similar way to the boy.

Anthropologists consider circumcision ceremonies as *rites de passage*; they are undoubtedly of great significance to the family, as well as to the child, especially if he is old enough. It is an intra-familial activity, and an occasion for the exchange of mutual obligations. The father receives his due contributions from relatives and friends to whom he has rendered such an obligation previously. Fathers keep a book, where they register those who have brought their contributions, and the amount which they have given. Traditionally, the fact that someone contributes to your ceremony counts rather than the amount of his contributions, that is, the relevant and compelling force is the carrying-out of mutual obligations on an occasion of circumcision. To illustrate this, a father who has one son should contribute to all those who have sent their contributions on the occasion of circumcising, not only their first sons, but all their sons. It is obvious here that the qualitative rather than the quantitative aspect of the social obligation is the more important. For the last ten years, however, there has been an increasing trend towards contributing on the same number of occasions as one has received a contribution from a particular person. Discussion and wrangling occasionally arise as to the appropriate way of 'give and take' on such occasions. Some people have struck a compromise so that the contributions are equalized between the same number of children, whereas the contributions towards the extra number of children are less in value and are made with a view to keeping the social relationships intact.

In ceremonies of circumcision, wedding, and preparation for pilgrimage, contributions (nakout) play a considerable part, especially in the case of

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the first two ceremonies, in covering the expenses incurred during the celebrations. It is known by the villagers that on such occasions one usually gains financially, as the person who is celebrating is paid back on one evening all that he had invested previously at different times, and thus it is a time for getting back one's savings.[1] Such reciprocal aid in these ceremonies does not make such enterprises a burdensome task in Silwa and in many other villages in the province of Aswan. This is different from the conditions obtaining in the province of Sharqiya. In 1940 Dr. Abbas Ammar reported that 11·8 of the indebtedness of the people of Sharqiya was due to expenses incurred on wedding celebrations.[2]

One often reads outright condemnation of such ceremonial celebrations which make many a fellah fall into debt. It must be remembered that the desire for the prestige connected with a sense of plenty as expressed in feasts and ceremonies is a natural human tendency. In this connection Freud says: 'A festival is a permitted, or rather an obligatory, excess, a solemn breach of a prohibition. . . . It is not that men commit the excess because they are feeling happy as a result of an injunction they have received. It is rather that excess is of the essence of a festival; the festive feeling is produced by the liberty to do what is as a rule prohibited.'[3]

It is not so important here whether one accepts Freud's argument or not; what is more vital is to realize that such ceremonial occasions provide the fellaheen with a healthy scope for the expressive elements in human behaviour and life in general, without which existence would become monotonous. To view such celebrations only as one of the main causes of the fellah's indebtedness, as some social reformers in Egypt do, ignores the social framework of valuations. Such ceremonies of circumcision, weddings, funerals, are occasions where the community gives reality to some of its social ideals and practices. They also act as a social mode of catharsis for the family and the individual concerned through which they acquire and satisfy what social psychologists call the 'sense of belonging' and the demands of group loyalty and morality.[4]

There is no doubt that the circumcision ceremony is a formal occasion for introducing the child into the wider circle of family relatives and to the whole village. This occasion is taken to express bonds of blood, affinal or friendly relationships between the family of the circumcised boy and other families. It is interesting to note that the boy's mother is the first and only female contributor in the announcement ceremony, and her contribution of corn, dates and sugar goes to the announcer. Other close relatives such as an uncle, or grandfather, have also to contribute on this

[1] This reminds the writer of one of Malinowski's findings showing that the ceremonial treatment of certain aspects of life, e.g. sex, crises of human existence, are more than the assertion of their social significance but also have a pragmatic value.

[2] Abbas M. Ammar, 'The People of Sharqiya', Ph.D. Thesis (Manchester University), 1940, pp. 428, 429.

[3] S. Freud, *Totem and Taboo*, London, 1950.

[4] See S. F. Nadel, *Foundations of Social Anthropology*, pp. 343-4.

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852 867 [593] occasion, even if they live with the father in the same household. Dispute between brothers or sisters is usually an irrelevant factor in the exchange of mutual contributions which are morally compulsory on such occasions. The ideal of the family solidarity must be expressed, at least formally at public ceremonies. The sociological significance of the ceremony cannot be exaggerated, as it must take place even in the case of children whose foreskin is congenitally contracted or damaged by disease. Although such children are believed to be circumcised by the angels, the ceremony is still held, even without any operation on the child.

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852 779 Traditionally, one of the main justifications for holding the ceremony is the religious significance attached to it throughout the whole Moslem world. To be a Moslem, it is believed, is to be circumcised as distinguished from the non-Moslems, who for the most part are not circumcised. However, there is no text in the Koran that enjoins circumcision upon the Moslem, and it is only mentioned in the prophetic tradition. It is maintained that circumcision was the practice not only of the Prophet Mohammed, but all previous prophets, such as Abraham, Noah, Hud, Saleh, Joseph, Moses, and Solomon. In the prophetic sayings there is no fixed time for the performance of circumcision, as amongst the Jews; it is, however, preferable to have it done before the boy attains maturity. It is reported that the Prophet said, 'Abraham, the friend of the Merciful, was the first man who entertained guests, the first man who underwent circumcision, the first man who shortened his moustache, and the first man who saw grey hairs. He asked, on seeing the grey hairs: "O Lord, what is this?" The Almighty and Glorious Lord said: "Dignity, O Abraham." He said: "O Lord, increase dignity in me."' Another prophetic tradition says, 'Circumcision is my way for men, but is merely ennobling for women'. It is also reported that the Prophet told a woman who was just converted into Islam and was thinking of being circumcised, 'Don't inflict trouble on yourself, because that is painful to a wife, but pleasing to a husband'.[1]

852 [779] The chain of authorities for most of the Prophet's dicta about circumcision is more often than not weak, and one is justified in regarding them as open to question. The four Schools of Moslem Law differ as to the obligatory nature of circumcision.[2] The practice, however, was widespread, though not universal, in pagan Arabia, and to be uncircumcised —'aghral' or 'aghlaf'—was thought disgraceful. Modern educated Moslems might justify circumcision on hygienic grounds, but the writer did not get any such explicit or implicit explanation from the villagers. For the latter, it literally means religious purification, which makes the person [783]

[1] *Mishkat-al-Masabih*, English translation by al-Hag Maulana-Fazlul Karim, Vol. I, pp. 737–8.

[2] *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Article, 'Circumcision (Muhammadan)', by D. S. Margoliouth. In the same source under 'Circumcision (Ancient Egypt)', it is mentioned that this ritual was practised in Ancient Egypt, although there is no decisive evidence with regard to either its generality or the nature of its practice.

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fit for prayers. It is not uncommon, whether amongst children or adults, to describe a person as disgraceful by saying that he has still got the foreskin. The relation between circumcision and ceremonial purity is also confirmed by the fact that those boys whose prepuce is absent are considered to be purified by the angels. The circumcised boy's dress, that of a religious man in open white shift and a green outer garment, could be also taken as evidence for the purificatory significance of the ritual.

It must be pointed out here that the circumcision of girls has never had the universality of that of the boys; the religious authority behind it is very weak and could be rejected, and even its practice is not universal throughout the Moslem world at present. On the other hand, some of the prophetic traditions, as mentioned earlier, do not specify its desirability for the female, and the absence of such a definite religious backing for it should render its abandonment comparatively easy. It is argued that circumcision of girls, by removing the clitoris, which is regarded as the centre of excitement, is deemed necessary for ensuring pre-marital chastity.[1] Such a statement was mentioned to the writer by the midwife in Silwa before he became aware of it in anthropological literature. The need for the control of any sexual excitability is understandable in a religiously puritanic community which considers any form of emotional stimulus, either through glance or touch, from any member of the opposite sex, other than the husband or wife, as sinful

The circumcision ceremony could be considered as a public declaration of the child's sex, with the father as socially responsible for the ceremony in the case of his son, while the mother and her female relatives solely attend to it in the case of the daughter. In other words it provides a social emphasis on the child's alignment with its sex group. The distinction between male and female circumcision is reflected in Classical Arabic by the use of two different words—'khatan' for the boy, and 'khafd' for the girl. In the colloquial language of the village, circumcision of the boy is sometimes referred to as 'cutting his pigeon' while in the case of a girl it is described as 'cutting her cockscomb' The operation is not suddenly performed on the child, but the mother, especially in the case of her son, may attempt to prepare him gradually for the event by caressing his organ and playfully endeavouring to separate the foreskin from the glans. While doing this, she would hum words to the effect that what she is doing will help to make him to become a man amongst men. In a community with rigid sex dichotomy, it is not surprising to find that it is a great fright, or a source of great resentment, for a small boy to be threatened by his mother that she will circumcise him, and for the girl to be threatened to be circumcised by the father. Such a threat by a parent of the opposite sex to the child is considered by the parents as one of the most dire threats that can be uttered, and it is thus used to help the child in identifying himself with the parent of his own sex.

[1] *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Article on 'Circumcision', p. 666.

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The alignment of the child with its sex could be also inferred from the fact that during the ceremony the boy wears a girl's headcloth, symbolizing his last chance of indulging in any activity which is not deemed fit for males.[1] This influence has been brought to the writer's mind by the barber's comment; while wrapping the headcloth round the boy's neck, he says: 'Let us put this female cloth around you, and by making you look like a girl tonight, you will be able to avert the evil eye.' This is also obvious in the expected behaviour of the boys not to cry or show any signs of pain during the operation, in order to whiten the father's face, while the girls in contrast are expected and allowed to cry. That the difference in the expectation is due to the fact that the girl's operation is more painful than that of the boy, and hence justifiable, is one way of looking at it, but it is undoubtedly a reflection of the expected ethos of the two sexes.[2] Endurance of pain is a heroic action of the male, while crying and weeping is only expected from women. The difference of 'ethos' between the two sexes reflects itself also in their public attitudes towards a person's death. While the men solemnly gather in the guest house for the obsequies, and public demonstration of weeping is only expected from them on their return journey to the guest house after the burial, the women express their grief in almost hysterical weeping, wailing and dirging.

During the circumcision ceremony the boy's aggression is however allowed to express itself during the procession that follows the operation, as while he is carried on his way to the mosque and the Nile, he is allowed to break an egg by throwing it at any person in the procession. On the other hand, the girl is given free scope in crying, screaming and asking for help.

One cannot fail to see the connection between circumcision and marriage, the former being a preparation for the latter, and the similarities between the public celebration of the two events are striking, as will be shown later in discussing the marriage ceremony. A circumcised boy or girl is normally referred to as 'bridegroom' or 'bride' in anticipation of their future role in life. The connection between circumcision and marriage is also obvious from beliefs and rituals common to both events; the circumcised boy as well as the bridegroom must visit the mosque or gaze on the Nile. The belief is that on his or her circumcision or wedding, a person could be deprived of fertility and potency, and hence great care must be taken to avoid the evil eye, and to avoid those who are sterile and desire fertility, who may well seize the opportunity to use or cross over the circumcised or married man's instruments and clothes. The connection between circumcision and fertility could be also inferred from the

[1] Edward Lane mentions that during his time boys used to be dressed in girls' garments in the circumcision ceremony. *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 59.

[2] The word 'ethos' here is used in the sense in which Bateson has defined it as 'the culturally standardized system of organization of the instincts and the emotions of individuals'. Naven, p. 220.

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fact that the mother, in taking the child to the Nile, throws his foreskin, enclosed in a loaf of bread, into the water, and washes the 'mirwad' (antimony stick) used in the operation in the waters of the Nile. This relationship is also evidenced by the fact that circumcision, like weaning, should take place at least two or three days before the appearance of the new moon, otherwise the child is liable to be 'tied up' (mushahir), the consequence of which may be that the wound might not heal quickly, or that the child might eventually be sterile.

Children show great interest in the circumcision ceremony, as it is a great occasion in which they associate with the circumcised child, eat with him, enjoy themselves, inviting people for the ceremony, or going on the children's round with their palm-tree branches, or getting sweets and peanuts during the procession. They usually tell you of the good food they had or the new clothes they wore on the occasion of their younger sibling's or cousin's circumcision. On asking some of the schoolchildren about events during which they felt happy, they invariably gave the answer of a sibling's circumcision or marriage. The educative significance of the ceremony for the older children, who witness and attend this public celebration, though indirect, is quite obvious. The social norms based on mutual obligations, the meaning of kinship and family solidarity, are concomitant in the ritual ceremony.

One cannot discuss circumcision without reference to the psycho-analytical explanation of the ritual. Freud sees in it the castration complex, which is derived from the Oedipus situation. He states that in some primitive societies circumcision is common and is performed at the age of initiation into manhood, and it was only as a secondary development that it was transferred to the early years of life. He continues: 'It is of great interest to find that among primitive peoples, circumcision is combined with cutting the hair, and knocking out of teeth, or is replaced by them, and that our children, who cannot possibly have any knowledge of this, in fact, treat these two operations, in the anxiety with which they react to them, as equivalents of castration.'[1] In Silwa such an anxiety concerning castration is evident in the adults' threatening their children to re-circumcise them even if they are already circumcised, and it manifested itself in one of the children's dreams described later.[2]

Some psycho-analysts maintain that circumcision, as an initiating ceremony of the child by his elders, helps to conduct the growing children across those difficult thresholds of life transformations that demand change in the patterns, not only of conscious, but also of unconscious life.[3] Géza Roheim maintains that circumcision represents a process of the child's growth from the passive Oedipus situation to the active orientation towards the loved object. 'The period of life which conditions the transition from

[1] S. Freud, *Totem and Taboo*, footnote, p. 133. [2] See Appendix XI.
[3] Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, Bollingen Series, New York, 1949, p. 10.

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852 mother to wife is dramatized. It is subject to operations: it is represented in symbols.'[1] The circumcision ritual, as practised in Silwa, lends itself to a considerable degree to Roheim's explanation, especially when one remembers such rituals as the disposing of the foreskin by putting it in a hole in a loaf of bread, the cleansing of the antimony stick in the Nile, the going round of the boys, holding the long palm-tree sticks in their hands, the admonition to the circumcised boy not to show his penis to anyone but his mother before it heals, as well as the other beliefs connected with fertility.

Sociologists, however, cannot be satisfied with such explanations. Viewed as an element in the totality of the cultural situation the 'castration' problem cannot be fully understood in the orthodox Freudian connotation with its biological bias. A sociological interpretation has to include the questions: Why does a child who is considered to be circumcised by 'angels' have to undergo the ceremony? Why is such an operation dramatized on such an elaborate social occasion? Indeed such a ceremony telescopes the individual's development as a process in which he is caught up in a net of reciprocal social obligations infused with moral and religious sanctions. Considering 'castration' in the context of social organization in Silwa, and as the villagers view it, it must be regarded as a social occasion with a religious sanction for declaring publicly the alignment of the child to his sex group. Thus, the child would identify itself with the social role of father or mother by becoming aware of the social implications and consequences of behaviour relevant to its sex group. The community submits its children to an operation around which everything is done to heighten the moral and social temperature of its culture and to induce a state of nervous super-excitation through which the youngsters may receive the adult's indelible stamp.[2]

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[1] Géza Roheim, *The Eternal Ones of the Dream*, p. 18.

[2] See Edwin W. Smith, 'Indigenous Education in Africa', in *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman*; and B. Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*, London, 1927.

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father or his elder brother (or mother or elder sister) those tasks which he or she is capable of doing. The child must work for his family as a necessary requisite to enjoying their protection. This is made explicit to children by parents who, on seeing their negligent children enjoying their food, would rebuke them by saying, 'Yes, you only know how to eat and drink', or 'You know how to increase the size of your buttocks'. There is nothing to add here concerning technical training, and further reference will be made in connection with its relation to cultural training. The lack of mastery in skills required from boys at a particular age is attributed to inefficient training by the parents. Once in the fields I heard a father blaming his son for his inability to get the right fodder for the cow by saying, 'The fault is not yours; it is the fault of him who has brought you up'.

The process of growing up is envisaged as a way of disciplining the child to conform to the adults' standards, and to comply with what their elders expect them to do, thus acquiring the qualities of being polite—'muaddab'. In adult eyes, the period of childhood is a nuisance, and childhood activities, especially play, are a waste of time. The 'giving of adab' to children is the guarantee of the survival of the social structure, with its patrilineal bias and respect relationships, especially filial piety, which is sanctioned by the Koranic injunctions. To become 'muaddab' is the ideal set up by parents for their children, and the adherence to which is constantly impressed upon them. The ideal, although emphasizing subservience and obedience of the children to their parents, is actually extended to include the whole range of children's activities for which their elders are responsible. The adult sense of keenness to bring their children to realize this ideal can be traced in parents' prayers that God might not make their children disobedient or cause them shame. One of the most effective insults to a boy or a girl is the provoking remark that he or she has no people to discipline him or her. 'She is a divorced girl' or 'unrestrained'; or for a boy, 'he is a pushing boy' (literally 'ascending'). Such comments are addressed to young persons who show no respect to people of their parents' age or who transgress the limits of behaviour expected from their age or sex group, e.g. a boy walking through a gathering of men, a married man insulting his father, a girl shouting from the roof of the house while fetching fuel, or a girl caught entering the guest house.[1]

The acquiring of the procedures of 'adab', which incorporate the prescribed standards of behaviour, has also a religious sanction behind it from the prophetic tradition. It is related that the Prophet said, 'God has disciplined me, and has perfected my discipline'. The word 'muaddab' is applied to a child who defaecates outside the house at the age of three or four, and goes further and further away from the house as he grows older. After the age of ten, for instance, he is not considered 'muaddab' unless he covers his genitals while urinating. A boy of fourteen to sixteen would be 'muaddab' if he played in the evenings only, and still better, if

[1] Use of the guest house is restricted to males.

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he did not play games at all. Boys and girls become 'muaddab' if they do not mix in play after the age of eleven or twelve. After the age of twelve, a girl would be considered 'muaddab' if she drops her glance and keeps clear of male gatherings, and when she becomes older, covers part of her face if she is passing by a group of men. A boy is 'muaddab' if he recognizes that he should sit in the back row on going to the mosque. As Mahmoud put it, a disciplined boy or girl is one who knows when and where to sit and stand, where and when to put his or her feet and thus become 'Ibn halal' (literally 'heir to the permissible'). Ali, on the other hand, expressed the importance of 'giving adab' to children by saying that it is believed that one of the signs of the end of this world will be when discipline and modesty (adab wa haya) disappear from the acts and deeds of the people.

The keynote to the educational process is the eagerness of the adults to create a docile attitude in their children and thus make them acquire filial piety.[1] The children readily accept the authority of their seniors, whether in work or play, and they endeavour to avoid their anger. This ready acceptance of the authority of those older than the child is epitomized in the axiom: 'He who is one day older than you, is in fact wiser by one year', which is a common saying often repeated by adolescent boys and girls. A child of twelve told me that it was always better to avoid the outbursts of one's elders: one of their curses might receive a hearing from God.

The ideal norm of 'adab' is a value which also has its religious sanction, as a pious son (ibn salih) is synonymous with 'muaddab'. Such a value does not only include the child's economic services and his observance of the expected social behaviour, but also implies a pattern of reciprocity between child and family. A father who neglects the care of his 'polite' children may be frequently exposed to illness, failure of crop, or death of cattle. Moreover, a family that infringes on the moral and religious code may consequently have sickly children. This connection between the moral values and the welfare of the family could be illustrated by the children's swearing by their parents' life and honour.[2] One also hears from the villagers that a loss of a son, or a camel, or sudden illness, is caused by the dealing of the inflicted person in usury, his swearing untruthfully by the name of Allah or his children, his giving false evidence in court, or spreading malicious gossip. It is clear that the welfare of the family members, children as well as adults, is contingent on some basic reciprocal relations fused with moral and religious sanctions.[3]

Besides learning from their parents and elders, children also learn

[1] M. Fortes maintains that filial piety, in patrilineal societies, is a value counteracting the suppressed antagonism between father and son, and mother and daughter. *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*, p. 347.

[2] A father may swear 'by the neck' of his son where life is supposed to be located.

[3] See Chapter III for religious justification of offspring.

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neighbourhood wrangling for some time. In this case, boys who have been sneaking are referred to by other boys as 'women', or in the case of girls are branded as 'loose' or 'prostitutes'. Parents' advice to their children is, 'Hit back him who hits you'.

Thus, before adolescence, a boy, not only through overhearing the gossip of his elders, but also through his age group norms, becomes aware of the significance of gossip as a means of social control. He is perhaps the cause of gossip or included in it, and this would expose him to shaming or avoidance by other children. The boy's friends might not speak to him and this would make him stand exposed and isolated.

Thus, it is obvious that though any signs of children's aggression towards adults is tabooed and punishable, their expression of hostility towards their age-mates is given full play. Rivalry and competition are mainly directed both in the adult and in the child world towards equals. Rivalry between generations seldom occurs, as it is mainly horizontal and not vertical.

The cultural axiom is for the adult to give and for the young to receive: to accept aid in kind or money from one's elders is permissible, while the reverse would be humiliating, or at least embarrassing, unless prescribed by kinship obligations, such as aid rendered by the son to his father in old age.

There is a vivid contrast between the lively, free, and rough behaviour of children in their groups and their shy and diffident manners when they are attending grown-ups, while eating or during any celebration in the house. On being punished or rebuked by his elders, the child is expected to obey, while if he shows any submissiveness, if wronged by his 'pals', he would be punished by his parents and would be asked to retaliate for himself. A boy was called Abdu the Batil (the coward) by his pals, a name for which he seemed to have no outward resentment. On asking the boy about how he got this nickname, he told me that his father had applied the name to him and told the other boys with whom he associated to call him so, as his father was annoyed by his constant appeals to his parents to protect him from other children.

After reviewing the general atmosphere of the two educative spheres in the child's life, it is appropriate to discuss the means by which some social norms are impressed on him. As mentioned earlier, one of the cardinal virtues of a disciplined child is his respect for his elders. Till the age of four or five, this respect expresses itself in the young boy, on being introduced to a gathering in the house, touching the older person's hands with his lips and forehead. When the child grows older, this is replaced by a handshake followed immediately by his withdrawal from the adult gathering. The sign of respect by kissing the older person's hand with one's lips and forehead, although it ceases to apply amongst village people themselves, would still be practised by older boys and adults towards strangers visiting the house. Moreover, this is always the sign of respect for

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867 a son meeting his father after a long absence, as well as the greeting of adults for religious men and those who are believed to be endowed with 'baraka'—holiness.

Whilst in the first five or six years the child's respect for its parents and elders is inculcated mainly through physical gestures and intimacy, the respect later on is expected in terms of a decrease in word intimacy and physical proximity. Moreover, certain manners must be observed, such as walking behind the father or an elder and not abreast of him, standing up or at least sitting properly on the ground on his approach, dismounting from donkey-back on seeing the father in a formal gathering, and so on. Whether in attending to the hand-washing of guests, the distribution of tea amongst them, or in shaking hands with them, a fairly definite order of precedence is observed by the child and even by adults themselves. On the whole, with the progress of the child in age, details of etiquette are gradually enforced upon him. It is also interesting to note in this respect that a father when taking his son of four or five years to the field, would make him ride behind him and not in front, and one cannot argue that this is merely a matter of convenience as fathers who take their sons in front of them are considered to be spoiling them.

It is important here to distinguish between two categories of behaviour with regard to respect relationships, and this distinction is mainly related to whether there are any outsiders or public onlookers. The child, for instance, is allowed a certain amount of latitude in conforming to the external tokens of respect to its parents in the intimate circle of the family, for example, to sit on the bed while the father is sitting on the ground, to make himself a nuisance with the mother, or to hit back when she scolds him. Yet this is severely disapproved of and punished if there is a visitor in the house, or if done outside the house. This is the root of the absolute bonds of kinship behaviour on formal occasions. No plea could absolve the person from not fulfilling his obligations towards his relatives on public occasions such as mourning or exchange of gifts on ceremonial occasions. The failure to fulfil such obligations, as the villagers put it, 'makes a special history for the person'. The distinction between formal and informal behaviour gradually recedes as the child grows older and he is supposed to approach progressively for all occasions the formal expectations of behaviour.[1]

563 The general pattern of behaviour between the child and its elders is thus largely one of dominance, submission couched in the term 'filial piety'. The filial sentiment, however, is not taught to or expressed by the child in any sentimental phrases. It was a great joke amongst the children 369 in one neighbourhood to repeat statements of an urban child whom they heard saying 'I love my father, I love my mother'. Such open expressions

[1] R. Firth distinguishes between formal and informal behaviour. In the latter there are more individual differences and variations; while the former is enjoined upon each member of the society and the observance and fulfilment of formal behaviour is regarded as the sure test for the harmonious functioning of society. *We, the Tikopia*, p. 173.

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of filial sentiment are considered by the children as one of the ways in which Cairo people spoil their sons and daughters. Children's respect for and devotion to parents must be absolute and unconditional and do not have to be verbalized. Yet, on the other hand, the appeal to please the mother or father is usually invoked to persuade the child to behave properly or to perform certain duties. 'Fetch fuel for mother so that she can say that her daughter is good.' 'Wear this garment so that uncle's people will say they have a good boy.' While the affection of blood relatives is used to stimulate and motivate the child, he is not expected to express his sentiment towards them directly.

During early childhood, kinship terms are learnt, and by the age of five, the children I spoke to were quite capable of telling the categories of paternal uncle and aunt, maternal uncle and aunt, cousins and nephews and nieces. As anthropologists have repeatedly pointed out, the child does not start off in life with a full set of kinship terms, but gradually, and not without difficulty, fits itself into the framework provided for it by its elders.[1] During its development, contacts and associations, a child begins to know what type of behaviour and sentiment is expected from him towards different relatives. In terms of behaviour the above-mentioned children distinguished between those closely-related children with whom they could play freely, more co-operatively, and possibly with more superficial wrangling, and those with whom they could not play in the same way; between those from whom they could demand a piece of bread or a bit of onion, and those from whom they could not; between those who could, without suspecting malicious intentions, accept their curses and those who would resent such curses. They also knew that their close relatives are those by whom they can be protected or punished, and whom they fear and love, and to whose houses they can stray, accepting food without fear of being punished by the parents. One of the children told me that his mother punished him for going with another boy to the latter's house. She rebuked him by saying that those who offered him food would call him a son of beggars, and that it would have been quite different had he gone to his grandfather's people. Children who stray quite often into houses which are not those of close relatives, are sometimes dubbed by their elders as paupers ('fakeers', who roam about and knock at the gate of Allah). Such an excuse is given by the elders to avoid the sense of shame that their children might bring to them. In this way a child is made to learn the difference between the easy flow of mutual obligations between close relatives and the strain of accepting hospitality from distant people which is considered almost as a debt. On such occasions, one also sees the importance of parental obligations towards their children, whose hunger would reflect on their parental duties and prestige.[2]

[1] R. Firth, *We, the Tikopia*, p. 171.

[2] For such connection between hunger and prestige, see Audrey Richards, *Hunger and Work in a Savage Society*, pp. 43–4.

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867 In this way the child experiences the processes of kinship, entering gradually widening circles of people with concomitant responsibilities and meanings. About the age of seven, for instance, kinship sentiment means running errands for close relatives, borrowing things, helping in carrying presents and gifts for them, and so forth. A child runs errands for his [603] paternal and maternal uncles and grandfathers whether they live with the [604] father or not, whether they are on good terms or not. Beyond these categories of kinship, the child is not compelled to run errands for other relatives who are not in harmony with his parents, on pain of punishment. Through the disciplinary powers of the uncle and the parent's family in general, the child finds himself more drawn towards his mother's people whom he usually goes to visit with his mother, because, as mentioned earlier, he finds them less censorious than paternal relatives. These visits to the maternal relatives are more frequent in the case of adolescent boys who can enjoy a relaxing and more genial relationship in their leisure time at night. As they grow older, kinship for boys and girls means help and assistance on ceremonial events of the extended family and the clan. [601] It is significant to notice that children use only eight terms of address: father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, paternal and maternal uncle and aunt. The last four categories of uncle and aunt are only used when those addressed are married; otherwise they are addressed merely by their [584] first names. In Silwa, unlike many other rural areas in the province of Kena, boys and girls tend, on the whole, to drop these four categories of kinship address after their marriage and usually call their uncles and aunts by their first names. It seems that after marriage boys and girls attain a [585] certain amount of social independence, and thus they do not address [601] uncles and aunts by kinship titles in the same way as they do not address the latter if they are not married, or if the age difference is slight. The recognition of blood relation, however, is usually used as a test for young children by their elders: one might hear an elder questioning a younger, 'Who is your uncle? Who is your cousin? Where do they live? Whom do you prefer?' and so on. The adolescents have a few puzzles depending on [584] kinship terms, and division of inheritance, the solution of which lies in the understanding of a linguistic twist, or a pun.[1]

The child's recognition of the importance of his family and his identification with it is acquired at a very early stage of his development. The child [195] usually talks in the first person plural, by saying 'our donkey, our camel'. In fact, it is preferable to use the plural pronoun rather than the singular, as it is considered to be modest and less presumptuous. This identification with the family is also evidenced by the fact that in children's swearing, and in that of the adults for that matter, the curse is directed towards the father, the mother, the family, or to one's origin (seed). It is very seldom indeed that a curse refers directly to the child or the person addressed. When children are praised by visitors, such praise is couched in terms such

[1] See Appendix VII for boys' riddles.

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as 'you are the son of people who are like princes', and this type of praise is more common than that related to the good qualities of the child himself. In this way, the identification with, and submergence into, the family is impressed upon the child. It is not surprising that on asking many young children about their names, their immediate answer was 'I am the son of so-and-so'. If the identity of the children is enquired about by the villagers, the question is normally formulated as 'Whose son are you?' It is noticeable that identification there goes with a sense of pride in one's family which causes wrangling and quarrelling amongst children as well as adults. The following conversation is typical of children's altercations in this connection. One child said: 'My father is better than yours; he never worked for someone else, and his turban has always been white. My people (our in Arabic) are all leaders (Arab sheikhs)'. The other boy retorted: 'All your people are liars and deceivers. We offer a larger tray of food for guests and on funeral occasions than yours. Your cow is "rotting" and its bones are sticking out from starvation. What is the use of just talking?'[1]

At an early age the child acquires the sense of property and becomes interested in possessions. Many uncles, or grandparents, for example, give presents to the children. Such a practice also forms the basis of one of the cardinal interests of children in animals. On my entering a house, a child insisted on showing me his goat, which his grandfather had sent him as a gift on the occasion of his circumcision. Sometimes parents may allocate a young calf or sheep to a boy, and in the case of a girl, a mother might keep a certain chicken or duck.[2] This is regarded as the child's own property, 'ala zimmatuh' or 'ala bakhtu', to be kept 'for his sake and luck', and consequently, at least theoretically, the parents do not dispose of the animal except for his or her benefit, e.g. to clothe him or her, or to buy things for him or her, or in the case of killing the animal or the chicken, the child would get the lion's share of the meat. In practice, however, under the pressure of hardship, the parents would more often sell the animal or give it away for their own account.

It is not difficult to see that the main objective of child training is to cultivate a docile and yielding disposition in the child as the main characteristic of a 'muaddab'. For the attainment of such a goal, the motive of fear is very much worked upon in the training of children by their elders during the period of childhood. Parents usually resort to making the child conform to their wishes by frightening it with an imaginary creature called 'silowa'. There is hardly any young child who does not fear this chimera which is supposed to eat children, especially at night. It is held by children that 'silowa' is a huge, ferocious animal that eats its young after suckling

[1] A. Tannous remarked that in the village community of Lebanon, swearing in mild cases usually refers to strictly personal characteristics, whereas in intense conflicts, more violent terms, usually involving the family, are used. See his article 'Group Behaviour in the Village Community of Lebanon', in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVIII, 1942, pp. 921–39.

[2] Such a chicken is usually marked by a thread tied round its leg or by cutting one of its claws.

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wrangle and quarrel with her, are rude to her, run outside the house and throw stones at the door or climb the wall and swear at her. On the other hand, children feel that the mother is their most reliable source of care and affection, and that she is more accessible and amenable than the father. In this capacity she is the one usually approached for expressing their wishes or asked to mediate between them and the father. Mothers themselves recognize that their treatment of children is different from that of the father. This is epitomized in the mothers' popular saying to their children in persuading them to obey them: 'On the death of my father I eat dates; on the death of my mother I eat hot coal.' In this way the mother tries to win from her offspring assistance and service as she is not invested with the same power of authority as the father. On the other hand, withdrawal from the father, keeping away from his bed while he is asleep, and keeping quiet while he is about the house, is told and retold to children by the mother or older siblings for fear of punishment. The father's authority cannot be flouted; and a change in the tone of his voice must be seriously considered. Although his punishment might be less frequent than that of the mother, yet it is certainly more severely administered. While the former pinches the ear, or the thigh, and seldom slaps, the latter normally slaps and thrashes with a rope or a cane.

It is also worth noting here that very little chance is given to the child to justify his misdemeanour, and hardly any effort is made to persuade him to avoid falling into the same error. Moreover, in administering punishment, there is no consistency or regularity; for the same offence the child might be beaten harshly, or his offence allowed to pass unnoticed. This depends, of course, on the parents' mood, or on their feeling towards the child at that particular time.

Such methods for disciplining the child normally lead to the child's attempts to tell lies or go for things in a roundabout way to evade punishment. He would swear that he has not committed a fault and that it is someone else who is responsible for it, or that he was forced by older or stronger boys to do it.[1] Deceptive tricks are frequently adopted in games when, for instance, a boy tries to frighten another boy by saying that the latter's father is approaching with a stick and thus seek to compel him to leave the game. An older boy, in trying to deceive younger children, would run in front of them shouting in terror, 'The Silowa is coming, the Silowa is coming', and the young boys would disperse. One boy might tell a group of boys an untrue story, and if the teller succeeds in making his listeners 'swallow' it he would vaunt his triumph over them by saying, 'I've been telling lies. I've cut your ears off—Kaddabt 'alaikum, gattat wadanaikum.'

[1] It is interesting to note that in the Kuttab (Koran school), Kuttab sheikh enquires from one of the boys about his misdemeanour and the other boys volunteer without being asked to give evidence confirming the boy's offence. With this also goes constant attempts of children to correct each other's behaviour or ways of learning or attention.

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each other. But they think it below their dignity to play games or 'bounce about'. When the writer told a gathering of villagers about some of the games played by adults in the cities they denounced it as childish and undignified. One of them added in excuse, 'By the end of a day's work we are worn out; we just want to relax and not play'.

Looking at this question from the adult viewpoint, it is not incorrect to state that growing up in the village is a continuous process of weaning the child from play to the serious activities of 'a dignified man'. In infancy a child might respond truthfully to the father's question as to whether it had been playing, but as the child grows older, the fear of giving a direct answer increases, and an evasive reply replaces the earlier readiness to tell the truth. An adolescent would definitely deny playing, for fear of reproval or even punishment. Thus an adolescent who has imbibed 'adab' is one who has outgrown all play in 'open spaces', and has thus severed all links with the most characteristic feature of child-life. On the whole, by the age of sixteen for boys and thirteen for girls, they normally terminate their play life as one of the signs of their maturity.

There is also the religious factor that contributes to the regarding of play as an undesirable activity. This religious motive is mainly due to the effect of the mystic tradition abominating play as an indulgence in pleasure which should be avoided. According to the mystic views, 'a pious man' should devote himself to worship and work; but play is 'lahw'—licentiousness. In the minds of the people the underlying concept of 'lahw' extends itself to other types of entertainment, e.g. the cinema, the theatre, playing or listening to music.[1] While it is true that the younger generation, in some part, go to the cinema whilst visiting the towns, the majority of the older generation regard cinema and theatre-going as 'haram'—something sinful. This 'Puritan' attitude towards play and entertainments, however, has no Koranic support; it is only based on the example of the rugged and restrained life of the 'pious ancestors'.

Looking at the organization of games, the second striking feature, after the marked dichotomy between the adult's and the child's world, is the almost complete segregation of both sexes, in games, after the age of six or seven at the latest. The sex distinction is so binding that it is unbecoming of a member of one sex to play the games of the other sex. Nevertheless, the writer has seen a group of girls in one of the back streets play the ball-game 'Awal-hawal'. Yet immediately they noticed a man approaching (not the writer), they all dispersed, only to resume play later. In contrast with the boys, ball-games with the girls are usually restricted to wall bouncing or catching games. There is no single game which is played by both sexes.

[1] This tradition is very similar to that of the Puritans in England as shown in the following quotation from the early eighteenth century: 'Play must be forbidden in all its forms. The children shall be instructed in this matter in such a way as to show them, through the presentation of religious principles, the wastefulness and folly of all play. They shall be led to see that play will distract their hearts and minds from God . . . and work nothing but harm to their spiritual lives.'

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become a great asset in house tasks; for instance, as 'fuel fetchers'. Most of the fuel in the form of maize straw, tree branches and manure is stacked on the roof, and boys are expected to help their mothers in bringing down the fuel stores into the house whenever needed.

The third feature that emerges from the children's play in the village is the social significance of age. As mentioned in the description of games, the leaders are invariably chosen on an age-basis. In any game, the older boys are the senior boys, unless joined later by boys who are older still and who are entitled to take over the role of leadership. Age, as the basis of seniority, is recognised by children even at the age of five and six, where the selection of the leaders amongst this age level occasions most of the quarrels which occur. In case of disagreement as to who is the oldest boy, this is sometimes decided by height. If this brings further disagreement, the problem is referred to an older boy, who is expected to know their relative ages. Furthermore, if any boy goes complaining to his mother on any account when playing, the first question she asks him is whether the child who hit him is older than he. If so she stands by her child, otherwise she straight away tells him, 'He is your age. Go and hit him, you coward.' The shaming would be worse if the offender happens to be younger.

It is also worth repeating that the two teams playing are usually balanced by the pairing up of 'equals' (nadid) which actually means 'of the same age' in the children's language. Failing to achieve that, two young boys may be given two or even three turns, if the other team has an older boy to match them. Players are usually reminded by the leaders of how well their opposite number is playing on the other side. Throughout organized or unorganized games, children are always encouraged to face the clash of 'equals' as an important experience in life.

Another important social norm reflected in play procedures is the respect that is shown to the leaders in directing the games, and the power enjoyed by them. They settle the disputes and smooth misunderstandings that occur during the game. They have to stand up to the inevitable latecomer who threatens to break up the game if not admitted. In this respect, it is also worth pointing out that they are seldom involved in the penalties that result from losing. For instance, in most of the games described they do not take part in the humiliating 'donkey-ride' which applies only to their team.

The last feature in our sociological analysis is the place for play. For children of all ages play always takes place outside the dwelling house. When a child starts playing in the house, the normal reaction on the part of the mother, father or any older member of the family is to expel him from the house, as if play, by its nature, should be indulged in beyond the dwelling premises. While such a reaction may be attributed in some measure to the fact that children might break things or create undue disturbance, the substantial reason is that the house is a place for work, and for the carrying out of serious domestic, social, and economic tasks. The notion

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'latency' or repression of sexuality as reported by psycho-analysts.[1] On the contrary, till the ages of ten and eleven children give full swing to their rough and vulgar ways of talk in their games. Even if the period of latency is universal according to psycho-analysts, its layer of repression amongst Silwa boys during this stage is not more than skin-deep. This contrasts with girls' play where phrases or symbols of sexuality are hardly expressed. The difference is certainly a reflection of the social norms governing sex, and exerts pressure on girls earlier than on boys.

Looking at the play and games of boys in the general cultural context and the trends of process of growing up, their characteristic roughness and sexuality could be regarded as a reflection of the expressive and assertive way of dealing with equals in competitive situations. Moreover, it could also be regarded as the last fling of the children's group before the adult world makes them toe the line in the stage of adolescence. Perhaps in their resentment of the pressures of socialization, the children's group finds a healthy scope for letting off steam in their own play-life unsupervised and undirected by the requirements of their grown-ups. It is relevant to state here that free unorganized play amongst children is mainly characterized either by mimicking other children or ridiculing adults with physical deformities, especially the lame and the blind. In such ways children give vent to their feelings of aggression towards, and resentment of, the adults' world. In this way one can see that the roughness in the boys' games may be regarded as a safety-valve by which the pressures of adult authority are vented and thus relieved.

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It is to be asked to what extent the environment and the cultural conditions of the community determine, or at least predispose, the boys and girls in the village to maintain and appreciate the games they play. It cannot be mere accident that most of the games, especially boys' games, although co-operative within the team, are directed mainly in their execution towards a highly competitive goal. While it cannot be firmly established, there is a strong suggestion that the village's social structure, with the solidarity of family, clan, and division combined with the rivalry between the various families, clans and the two divisions, favours the adoption of such games.

Moreover, it is appropriate to ask to what extent maleness is connected with these boys' games in the sense that through the tough and rugged manner of play, boys gain their manly skill and endurance. In other words, to what extent can one consider these games as ways of testing boys' ability to take their part in the community which requires a demonstration of manhood by showing one's prowess in the games? With this, one also notices the quiet nature of the girls' games which is compatible with the female ethos in this community.

[1] G. Roheim, 'The Psycho-analysis of Primitive Cultural Types,' in *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, Vol. XIII.

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reluctantly admits the value of story-telling to children, accepts its occurrence at night as a safety valve, as then it would not wreck or endanger the 'puritanic' atmosphere.[1]

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The first eleven stories recorded in this study are a common stock for most of the boys and girls in the village, but I found no girl who knew any of the rest of the stories. This is understandable, as these stories are usually related and heard by boys and girls till the age of eleven or twelve, but after this age story-telling among girls is frowned upon and punished. This is the main reason why their stock of tales is meagre compared with that of the boys. Here, as in play, girls are expected to toe the line of adults earlier than boys.

Most of the stories collected were from the compulsory school children. By no means all of them knew the full text of the stories, but most of them at least recognized or felt they knew the first eleven stories. In examining those who had known some of the stories, they repeated them in an almost identical way.

Children normally begin their narration of a story by saying: 'There existed' (Feeh), whereupon the listeners reply, 'God exists' (Allah feeh); older boys and old men would normally begin by, 'It happened and in the past many a thing happened, and upon God we rely' (Kan ya ma kan, wa 'ala allah attuklan).[2] The younger boys finish off by exclaiming, 'I've been to your house and come back, I've eaten the hen before the cock' (Ruht 'indakum wi jeet, akalt al farkha gabl addik).

[8.7]

In the text of the stories and tales, one can find reflections of many of the social, moral and religious norms and attitudes. In the manifest content of the stories, such norms and attitudes as those governing the relationships between members of the family, social expectations, religious aspirations and desire for children are not difficult to discern and need no elaboration.

Moreover, anthropologists and psychologists have also tried to explain the latent content of folk literature, myth and legends. The interpretations of Freudian, Jungian, and other schools of psychology have been occasionally alluded to in the footnotes of the story texts.[3] The orthodox Freudians, as well as the Jungians, because of their racial and generalized interpreta-

[1] With regard to the fact that folk-stories are characteristically told at night, Hermant advances the theory that the choice of night is psychologically significant as after the day's work is finished and both narrator and listeners are tired, their critical powers of thinking, their attention and will are slackened. Thus social activities that are considered inappropriate during the day seem acceptable at night; in the same way certain themes in stories are exclusively acceptable during the evenings, and are incorporated in the folk-tale. See E. J. Lindgren, 'The Collection and Analysis of Folk-Lore', in *The Study of Society*, p. 360.

[2] This beginning is very similar to the way story-tellers in Iraq introduce their stories, as reported by E. S. Stevens, although by omitting 'ya' he misunderstood the meaning of the phrase and translated it as 'There was, there was not'. *Tales of Iraq*, London, 1931.

[3] C. G. Jung and C. Kerenyi, *An Introduction to a Science of Mythology* (translated by R. F. C. Hull), London, 1951.

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and lived all his time never deviating from the right path,
and never associating with those people whose hearts have been blackened.
When he died he showed signs of piety, and his body neither decayed, nor was attacked by worms.

. . . . .

Shams al giyama danat gum ya mureed safir,
gum jahhiz azzad min gabl al-miaad safir,
wi gabbad al-arwah daiman al-'ibad safir,
as-shaib wiyya as-sigam ju lak ya fata mursal.
wi likul umnah ata liha nabi mursal,
ata Jibril bil burag li annabi mursal.

The sun of resurrection is approaching, a warning for departure.
Prepare yourself before the hour comes.
The seizer of souls is always apparent and about.
Grey hairs and sickness are messengers for you.
For every nation there has been a messenger,
and Gabriel delivered God's message to Muhammad.

On some occasions these 'Boys of the Path' go to visit their 'brothers' in another village. On their approaching that village, the heralding of which would be by the visitors' chanting in unison popular verses and by beating on a small drum, the latter would walk out to receive them before they enter the village. They would offer them tea and dates and spend the rest of the night reciting verses or holding a 'zikr'.

Some of the adolescents and youths in the village do not take part in either the singing or mystic activities, for they are not encouraged to do so by their parents, and they are satisfied by only gathering in the neighbourhood for chatting. On asking some of these boys why they did not join in such activities, they replied that they wanted to attend to their livelihood, and as they usually felt tired through the day's work they could spare no time or effort for such activities.

It must be pointed out that it is not maintained here that interest in religious matters is a psychological consequence of puberty and adolescence, or that the attitude towards sex is being learnt only at this stage. Such norms as mentioned earlier are being imbibed gradually from childhood. With regard to religious matters, children start by learning about God's power at an early stage, even in their play and riddles. On going to the Kuttab they know how to recite the major Islamic creed, 'There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his Prophet', learn the obligation of fasting through the adult practice and through their own attempts to fast half a day, a day or more according to their capacity in imitation of adults. As far as sex norms are concerned, they begin to express themselves in separate play as early as the age of eight and nine years. But with the dawning of adolescence, the child finds himself awakened to the cumulative